DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 405 393 UD 029 972

AUTHOR	Coulton, Claudia J.; And Others
TITLE	Patterns of Investment in Cleveland's Low-Income Neighborhoods.
INSTITUTION	Case Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, OH. Center for Urban Poverty and Social Change.
SPONS AGENCY	Cleveland Foundation, Ohio.; Rockefeller Foundation, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	Nov 90
NOTE	24p.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Block Grants; Change; *Community Resources; Demography; Economics; Housing; Inner City; *Investment; Land Use; *Low Income Groups; *Neighborhoods; Population Trends; *Poverty; Social Problems; *Urban Areas; Urban Problems
IDENTIFIERS	Indicators; *Ohio (Cleveland); Urban Revitalization

ABSTRACT

Fifteen of the lowest-income neighborhoods of Cleveland (Ohio) are the focus of this report. These areas encompass most of the traditional, new, and emerging poverty areas identified in a previous report. Several indicators of investment patterns have been chosen for this report. They fall into the general categories of housing and land, economic activity, and community block grants. When possible, changes that have occurred in recent years that are suggestive of disinvestment or reinvestment in various parts of the city are described. The fact that there is job growth and available land in the traditionally poor locations suggests that rebuilding strategies should be considered. These must be coupled with strategies to build human capacity. Higher prices (which would reflect a higher value placed on the neighborhood) coupled with high-risk loans in the hard-hit east areas are suggested as strategies to stabilize and support buyers and maintain housing quality. The mid-city areas are more varied, with some areas showing evidence of increased social troubles and more rapid disinvestment. It may be that tailoring the type of investment to type of neighborhood can influence the direction of neighborhood change. Six tables present study findings, and an appendix presents a city map. (SLD)

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PATTERNS OF INVESTMENT IN CLEVELAND'S LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS

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PATTERNS OF INVESTMENT

IN CLEVELAND'S

LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS

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November, 1990

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This analysis was supported by grants from the Rockefeller and Cleveland Foundations. However, the opinions expressed are those of the authors. The assistance of Grace Carroll, Sam Harrison, Mark Hoffman, Arthur Naparstek, Marcia Petchers and Henry Yan is gratefully acknowledged.

PATTERNS OF INVESTMENT IN CLEVELAND'S LOW-INCOME NEIGHBORHOODS

Fifteen of Cleveland's lowest-income neighborhoods are the focus of this report. These areas encompass most of the traditional, new and emerging poverty areas identified in our report, An Analysis of Poverty and Related Conditions in Cleveland Area Neighborhoods. Included are the statistical planning areas known as: Broadway (North and South), Central, Cudell, Detroit-Shoreway, Fairfax, Glenville, Goodrich-Kirtland Park, Hough, Kinsman, Mt. Pleasant, Ohio City, St. Clair-Superior, Tremont and Union-Miles.

Several indicators of investment patterns have been chosen for this report. They fall into the general categories of housing and land, economic activity and community block grants. Where possible, we will describe changes that have occurred in recent years that are suggestive of disinvestment or reinvestment in various parts of the City.

HOUSING

Housing values and prices

Housing values and sales prices reflect several aspects of a neighborhood's investment climate: its desirability as a place to live; the age and condition of the housing stock; and the policies and perceptions of mortgage lenders, insurers and realtors regarding the area. Housing values are recorded by the County Auditor and a major reassessment is done every three years. Sales prices are taken into account but in areas where current sales are few, past prices and values, housing conditions and other factors determine present valuation. Sales prices are more direct measures of market conditions but are quite unstable in areas with few home sales.

Table 1 presents the 1988 sales prices for single-family homes, the volume of sales and the degree to which sales prices have kept pace with general inflation in the Cleveland area over the past five years.[1] Most of the areas of interest in this report lost market value relative to inflation in the 80s, while Cleveland as a whole kept pace with inflation. Mt. Pleasant, Union-Miles, Glenville, Tremont, Goodrich-Kirtland and Hough gained market value relative to inflation, but preliminary 1989 sales figures suggest precipitous price declines in Mt. Pleasant, Union-Miles and Goodrich-Kirtland Park. Hough and Tremont have continued to experience appreciation in sales prices but the

TABLE 1: SINGLE FAMILY HOME SALES, 1988

Statistical Planning Area	Number of Sales	Median Sales Price	% Above/Below Inflation Since 1983
Mount Pleasant	88	$32,250	12.9%
South Broadway	170	$27,350	-8.3%
Union-Miles Park	85	$27,000	18.0%
Glenville	73	$26,200	7.5%
Cudell	73	$26,000	-12.0%
Detroit-Shoreway	80	$19,950	0.8%
Goodrich-Kirtland Park*	11	$18,500	31.7%
St. Clair-Superior	37	$18,000	-1.9%
North Broadway	55	$15,000	-0.9%
Tremont	29	$13,000	45.3%
Ohio City	23	$11,000	-4.1%
Hough	16	$7,250	10.9%
Fairfax	12	$6,750	-41.2%
Kinsman*	8	$5,500	-4.1%
Central	N/A	N/A	N/A
City	3665	$37,000	0.8%

*Small communities - median sales price may not accurately measure market conditions.

Source: Cuyahoga County Auditor

Analysis by: Housing Policy Research Program, Cleveland State University

number of sales transactions has been low suggesting that these values may be unstable.

Table 2 presents the mean housing values (in 1988 dollars) for one to four unit structures in 1977, 1982 and 1987.[2] It can be seen that all of the areas have declined considerably in recent years, but less between 1982 and 1987 than they did in the 1977 to 1982 period. The lowest valued areas of Hough, Fairfax, Kinsman and Central lost almost half their valuation during the recession period of the early 80s.

An additional issue which should be examined in future reports is that of owner occupancy and its relation to sales prices and inflation. The use of single family homes as investment property may also be reflected in mortgage lending patterns discussed below.

Mortgage Lending Patterns

The single-family home market is affected by lender practices as well as the financial capacity of home buyers to meet mortgage payments and home maintenance expenses. The willingness of local banks and savings and loans to provide mortgages in an area is an indicator of perceptions of strength and future value. Table 3 shows the percentage of each area's home sales with such mortgages in 1987, the latest data available.[3] It can be seen that North and South Broadway and Cudell are the only areas where one-third or more of the home sales have bank or savings and loan mortgages. The majority of

TABLE 2: MEAN ASSESSED VALUE (1988 DOLLARS), 1-4 UNIT STRUCTURES

Statistical Planning Area	1977	1982	% Change 1977-82	1987	% Change 1982-7
Cudell	$39,494	$31,789	-20	$27,345	-14
South Broadway	$33,420	$27,083	-19	$23,191	-14
Mount Pleasant	$34,537	$25,520	-26	$22,205	-13
Detroit-Shoreway	$25,676	$21,191	-18	$17,927	-15
Union-Miles Park	$29,244	$18,619	-36	$16,064	-14
Glenville	$24,706	$17,048	-31	$14,694	-14
North Broadway	$20,640	$15,598	-24	$13,432	-14
Ohio City	$17,922	$15,359	-14	$12,517	-19
Tremont	$16,912	$13,739	-19	$11,490	-16
St.Clair-Superior	$20,562	$12,450	-39	$10,492	-16
Goodrich-Kirtland	$17,406	$12,150	-30	$10,259	-16
Hough	$12,233	$ 7,123	-42	$ 6,264	-12
Fairfax	$13,489	$ 7,371	-45	$ 6,239	-15
Kinsman	$11,096	$ 5,800	-48	$ 4,928	-15
Central	$ 7,771	$ 4,287	-45	$ 3,977	-7
City	$36,566	$29,596	-19	$25,708	-13

Source: Cuyahoga County Auditor (Tape prepared by Housing Policy Research Program)

TABLE 3: SINGLE FAMILY HOME MORTGAGE LOANS, 1987

Statistical Planning Area	Number of		Percent of Sales with Loans from		Low Down Payment (<5%)	
	Sales	Loans	Banks	Other	%	# Loans
Fairfax	12	2	0%	17%	100%	2
Mount Pleasant	83	54	24%	41%	88%	44
Glenville	75	54	23%	49%	82%	42
Union-Miles Park	81	49	27%	33%	79%	37
St. Clair-Superior	56	33	27%	32%	58%	19
South Broadway	136	104	36%	40%	45%	47
Cudell	82	57	33%	37%	44%	24
Detroit-Shoreway	100	59	26%	33%	41%	24
North Broadway	49	29	41%	18%	38%	11
Hough	12	3	8%	17%	33%	1
Tremont	22	7	23%	9%	29%	2
Ohio City	33	8	12%	12%	25%	2
Goodrich-Kirtland Park	14	2	14%	0%	0%	0
Kinsman	4	1	25%	0%	0%	0
Central	3	0	0%	0%	N/A	0
City	3398	2508	33%	41%	51%	1254

Source: Cuyahoga County Auditor

Analysis by: Cuyahoga Plan and Housing Policy Research Program, Cleveland State University

the loans made in all of the neighborhoods are from other sources, primarily mortgage companies. In Tremont, Ohio City, Hough, Fairfax, Kinsman and Central less than half the home sales have any mortgage recorded at all. Housing transactions in these areas are largely outside the normal channels through which buyers are evaluated and determined to be qualified. They mainly involve cash, trade, land contract or other special arrangements.

An additional indicator of the role of mortgage lending in neighborhood decline is the percentage of loans that involve no down payment or less than five percent down payment. Low down payment loans are more likely than conventional loans to result in default or the inability of the owner to maintain the property. Thus, while they provide a chance for homeownership for the family that would otherwise be financially unqualified, without other supports they can lead to neighborhood decline and instability. Table 3 suggests that the percentage of loans that are low down payment have reached very high proportions in Mt. Pleasant, Union-Miles and Glenville.[4] This may suggest a recent influx of first time home buyers and the need for programs to assist these families to maintain their homes and mortgage payments. Any economic downturn that affects the low-income worker could rapidly turn into neighborhood decline due to the negative or zero equity of large numbers of the new homeowners. Particularly vulnerable would be areas such as Mt. Pleasant, Union-Miles and Goodrich-Kirtland Park where prices dropped sharply in 1989 making many houses worth less than the purchase

price in 1987. Under these circumstances, low down payments can become negative equity for the owner and provide little incentive to hold onto the property when financial adversity strikes.

LAND AND PROPERTY AVAILABILITY

The availability of abandoned properties and vacant land is a sign of disinvestment in an area but is also a basis for opportunity for redevelopment. In this section we identify the land that is in the City land bank, the vacant properties not yet in the land bank and the properties that are vacant and have been tax delinquent for two or more years, many of which will eventually become available for land banking.

Table 4 indicates that nearly six to eight percent of the parcels of land in Hough, Central and Kinsman are in the land bank.[5] A sign of future land availability can be seen in vacant and tax delinquent properties. Central and Kinsman lead in vacancies with nearly half the parcels classified as vacant and approximately one-quarter tax delinquent for more than two years.[6] Mt. Pleasant, South Broadway, Cudell and North Broadway all fall below the citywide vacancy rate which is 12 percent.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

We have no direct measures of the economic activity in the neighborhoods that are the focus of this report. However, we do have data on number employed by industry type for the City

TABLE 4: PROPERTY STATUS (AS OF FIRST HALF, 1988)

SPA*	ALL PARCEL	# VACANT	% VACANT	# DELINQ 2+YRS. & VACANT	% DELINQ 2+YRS. & VACANT	# IN CLEVE. LAND BANK	% IN CLEV. LAND BANK
KINSMAN	2816	1313	47%	806	29%	235	8.3%
HOUGH	6122	2341	38%	1403	23%	473	7.7%
CENTRAL	3537	1714	48%	725	21%	202	5.7%
FAIRFAX	4141	1106	27%	659	16%	159	3.8%
ST.CLAIR-SUPERIOR	4021	763	19%	463	12%	73	2.0%
GLENVILLE	7798	1169	15%	732	9%	162	2.1%
OHIO CITY	3576	832	23%	270	8%	59	1.7%
UNION-MILES	5943	940	16%	493	8%	48	.8%
TREMONT	3891	794	20%	283	7%	97	2.5%
DETROIT-SHOREWAY	6556	793	12%	264	4%	40	.6%
MT. PLEASANT	7099	404	6%	179	3%	25	.4%
GOODRICH-KIRTLAND	2354	535	23%	61	3%	9	.4%
NORTH BROADWAY	3864	414	11%	97	3%	11	.3%
SOUTH BROADWAY	7870	619	8%	111	1%	21	.3%
CUDELL	3333	168	5%	38	1%	5	.2%
CITY	171843	21289	12%	8360	5%	1961	1.1%

*Statistical Planning Area

Source: County Auditor and Housing Policy Research Program, Cleveland State University

planning areas of Cleveland. We can use this to trace increases or decreases over the past several years in the geographic areas contiguous to the neighborhoods of interest.

Table 5 indicates that there has been an overall decline in total employment in the parts of the City that are our focus.[7] (A map of City planning areas is in the Appendix.) Retail activity, which may be indicative of the commercial desirability of these neighborhoods had declined considerably by 1984, the latest date at which we have geographically specific data. As with retail activity, manufacturing employment has declined in all areas since 1976, although the Hough, Fairfax, Kinsman and Central areas have seen an increase in the most recent period. Service sector employment trends are more mixed. Overall, there has been growth in this sector since 1976, but three of the six areas reviewed here lost service sector jobs in the 1980-1984 period.

It should be noted that the employees working in an area often live outside the area and commute to work. This explains the fact that employment grew in several areas that experienced a tremendous increase in poverty rates. Consider for example, the part of the City contiguous to Fairfax, Hough, Central and Kinsman where poverty rates are most extreme. There are six major hospitals in this area supplying much of the growth in service employment. However, considerable portions of hospital

TABLE 5: EMPLOYMENT LEVELS BY INDUSTRY, 1976-1984

City Planning Area 1: Union-Miles Park, Mount Pleasant

INDUSTRY	EMP 76	EMP 80	EMP 84	% CHANGE
TOTAL EMPLOYMT	9748	8618	7643	-21.59
CONSTRUCTION	668	905	924	38.32
MANUFACTRG	3512	2607	1895	-46.04
TRANS.COM.P.UTIL.	174	182	192	10.34
WHOLESALE TRADE	478	512	582	21.76
RETAIL TRADE	2174	1896	1654	-23.92
FINANCE, INS, REAL	350	765	694	98.29
SERVICES	2392	1751	1702	-28.85

City Planning Area 2: Hough, Central, Kinsman, Fairfax

INDUSTRY	EMP 76	EMP 80	EMP 84	% CHANGE
TOTAL EMPLOYMT	55119	54135	57730	4.74
CONSTRUCTION	1222	916	873	-28.56
MANUFACTRG	11908	10865	11725	-1.54
TRANS.COM.P.UTIL.	469	551	454	-3.20
WHOLESALE TRADE	4762	4422	3729	-21.69
RETAIL TRADE	2823	2772	2378	-15.76
FINANCE, INS, REAL	1152	1105	885	-23.18
SERVICES	32783	33504	37686	14.96

City Planning Area 3: Glenville

INDUSTRY	EMP 76	EMP 80	EMP 84	% CHANGE
TOTAL EMPLOYMT	29041	31078	21648	-25.46
CONSTRUCTION	703	671	645	-8.25
MANUFACTRG	17876	18068	12263	-31.40
TRANS.COM.P.UTIL.	1232	1076	542	-56.01
WHOLESALE TRADE	1558	1508	1356	-12.97
RETAIL TRADE	2208	1906	1437	-34.92
FINANCE, INS, REAL	2501	3569	695	-72.21
SERVICES	2963	4280	4710	58.96

TABLE 5: EMPLOYMENT LEVELS BY INDUSTRY, 1976-1984 (cont.)

City Planning Area 4: Broadway, Ohio City, Tremont

INDUSTRY	EMP 76	EMP 80	EMP 84	% CHANGE
TOTAL EMPLOYMT	29374	30101	26159	-10.95
CONSTRUCTION	920	890	983	6.85
MANUFACTRG	14201	14872	12295	-13.42
TRANS.COM.P.UTIL.	3681	3207	2518	-31.59
WHOLESALE TRADE	2399	2152	2046	-14.71
RETAIL TRADE	2517	1964	1962	-22.05
FINANCE, INS, REAL	361	664	603	67.04
SERVICES	5295	6352	5752	8.63

City Planning Area 5: Goodrich-Kirtland Pk, St. Clair-Superior

INDUSTRY	EMP 76	EMP 80	EMP 84	% CHANGE
TOTAL EMPLOYMNT	124324	131889	116875	-5.99
CONSTRUCTION	3718	3982	2435	-34.51
MANUFACTRG	32519	29966	24911	-23.40
TRANS.COM.P.UTIL.	20248	14258	11762	-41.91
WHOLESALE TRADE	9496	9027	7481	-21.22
RETAIL TRADE	10731	12100	10049	-6.36
FINANCE, INS, REAL	23143	32382	24234	4.71
SERVICES	24469	30174	36003	47.14

City Planning Area 7: Detroit-Shoreway, Cudell

INDUSTRY	EMP 76	EMP 80	EMP 84	% CHANGE
TOTAL EMPLOYMT	23610	23065	22909	-2.97
CONSTRUCTION	761	883	2459	223.13
MANUFACTRG	13370	11874	11378	-14.90
TRANS.COM.P.UTIL.	795	718	479	-39.75
WHOLESALE TRADE	2168	2688	2534	16.88
RETAIL TRADE	2513	2733	2421	-3.66
FINANCE, INS, REAL	514	574	387	-24.71
SERVICES	3489	3595	3251	-6.82

workers came from suburban locations or other City neighborhoods. Nevertheless, although employment levels in an area do not always translate into jobs for residents they are an indicator of an area's assets that could form the basis for change.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK GRANTS

Government policies and expenditures can affect the viability of specific neighborhoods but their impact is often indirect and difficult to identify. Most government expenditures cannot be tied to specific locales within the City. One exception is the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) expenditures many of which are designated for neighborhood-specific projects and activities.

In Table 6 we report the total and per capita expenditure of block grant monies for the fifteen priority neighborhoods for 1989.[8] It can be seen that per capita CDBG investment ranges broadly from $38 in Mt. Pleasant to $167 in Tremont. Nevertheless, there appears to be no relationship between these expenditures and the poverty status, housing values/sales of an area. Future reports, which will break down these expenditures by type of project, may reveal currently hidden trends. It must also be emphasized that CDBG investment is only one type of public investment in an area. Other investments not examined here, such as Small Business Administration loans or tax abatements, may complement these investments and provide a richer profile of community investment.

TABLE 6: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT BLOCK GRANT EXPENDITURES (1982-1989 INCLUSIVE)

Statistical Planning Area	Total CDBG	Per Capita CDBG*
Tremont	$1,528,119	$167
Ohio City	$1,820,729	$149
Hough	$2,666,126	$115
Detroit-Shoreway	$2,035,109	$108
North Broadway	$ 884,115	$ 96
St. Clair-Superior	$1,234,677	$ 89
Goodrich-Kirtland Park	$ 427,487	$ 76
South Broadway	$ 911,852	$ 75
Glenville	$1,827,690	$ 66
Fairfax	$ 779,256	$ 66
Kinsman	$ 464,599	$ 60
Union-Miles	$ 988,406	$ 55
Central	$ 776,277	$ 45
Cudell	$ 455,455	$ 42
Mt. Pleasant	$ 991,499	$ 38

* 1985 Population Estimates Used

Source: City of Cleveland, Department of Community Development, Office of Management Information Systems

IMPLICATIONS

The fifteen areas examined here can be divided into several types. First, are the traditional poverty areas in which investment has been low for two decades and population has dropped rapidly. Kinsman and Central have virtually no active housing market and large amounts of vacant properties. Fairfax and Hough also have many vacant properties, but still experience a small amount of housing market activity. Prices in Hough have even appreciated reflecting new construction. Mortgage lending rates are very low. The numbers of jobs in the areas have actually risen, but may not have reduced joblessness among area residents as much as among commuters from other areas.

Second, are the recently hard-hit areas that have experienced sudden losses. Union-Miles Park, Mt. Pleasant and Glenville are located in parts of the City with a very large loss of jobs. A housing market remains with some price appreciation, but overall housing values have been declining for a decade. A large portion of mortgage loans are to buyers with less than five percent down payment. Yet, home-sales prices have remained relatively high, especially in Mt. Pleasant and Union-Miles.

Third, are the mid-City areas that have gradually experienced moderate decline despite relatively high per capita Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) investment. Broadway, Ohio City and Tremont have moderate loss of jobs and notable decline in property values. With the exception of South Broadway, the housing transactions and loan rates are modest.

South Broadway's housing prices are considerably higher than nearby areas.

Fourth, are the west side areas where conventional loan rates have remained higher despite declining values. Job levels have declined only modestly. Cudell and Detroit-Shoreway show less job loss than the more southern locations, but housing values have maintained a steady decline. Loan activity is relatively high in comparison to the other areas and low down payment loans are less prevalent.

These four types of areas are in different positions with respect to land availability and job growth (highest in traditional areas), housing prices and activity (highest in hard-hit areas), conventional lending activity (highest in mid-City and west side areas), and CDBG investment (highest in mid-City areas). The fact that there is job growth and available land in the traditional locations suggests rebuilding strategies should be considered. But these must be coupled with strategies to build the human capacity in these areas where labor force participation and health and educational status have fallen well below other parts of the City.

High prices coupled with high-risk loans in the hard-hit east areas suggest strategies to stabilize and support buyers and maintain housing quality. Job creation specifically connected to neighborhood development needs would seem to be required in these high job-loss areas.

The mid-City areas are more varied and parts show evidence of increased social troubles (see our report on social conditions) and more rapid disinvestment, although CDBG investment is high. Parts of North Broadway and Ohio City are declining in the direction of traditional areas. The west side areas still have considerable investment activity, but the need for strong efforts to maintain that are suggested by recent declines in prices and values.

It may well be that tailoring type of investment to type of neighborhood can influence the direction of neighborhood change. Some areas (Union-Miles, Mount Pleasant, Glenville) are clearly in need of investment which addresses their substantial job loss problems if they are to escape becoming isolated long-term poverty areas in the future. Other areas (traditional poverty areas) require a different kind of investment which can bring back a sense of hope for the future of the neighborhood and stimulate a change in the direction of disinvestment noted in this report. Those areas experiencing more moderate levels of decline, west side and mid-City, may be in a position to respond to multidimensional investment which encourages housing development through conventional loan practices, stimulates property values, and creates employment opportunities for neighborhood residents experiencing job loss. Investment in these areas may be viewed as preventative rather than remedial, thus realizing substantial savings over the long term.

NOTES

1. These data are extracted from the report: Housing Policy Research Program, Single-Family Home Sales and Appreciation: Cuyahoga County Suburbs and Cleveland Neighborhoods, 1988, Maxine Goodman Levin College of Urban Affairs, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH. The Cuyahoga County Auditor's file of deed transfers was the source of these data.

2. We calculated mean values by SPA from the Cuyahoga County Auditor's data files that were aggregated to the census tract by the Housing Policy Research Program, The Urban Center, Cleveland State University. Medians are typically preferred for housing values but could not be calculated from tract level data.

3. The information in this table was extracted from a report: The Cuyahoga Plan, Race and Mortgage Lending in Cleveland-1987, Cleveland, July 1989.

4. The overall rate of low down payment loans in Cleveland is 51 percent. It is higher on the east side than the west side.

5. We performed this analysis using a printout supplied by the Housing Policy Research Program, Cleveland State University. The County Auditor supplied the data to C.S.U. We are currently preparing updated figures for the whole of 1988 from a data tape that they supplied.

6. These figures do not include vacant and abandoned units operated by CMHA.

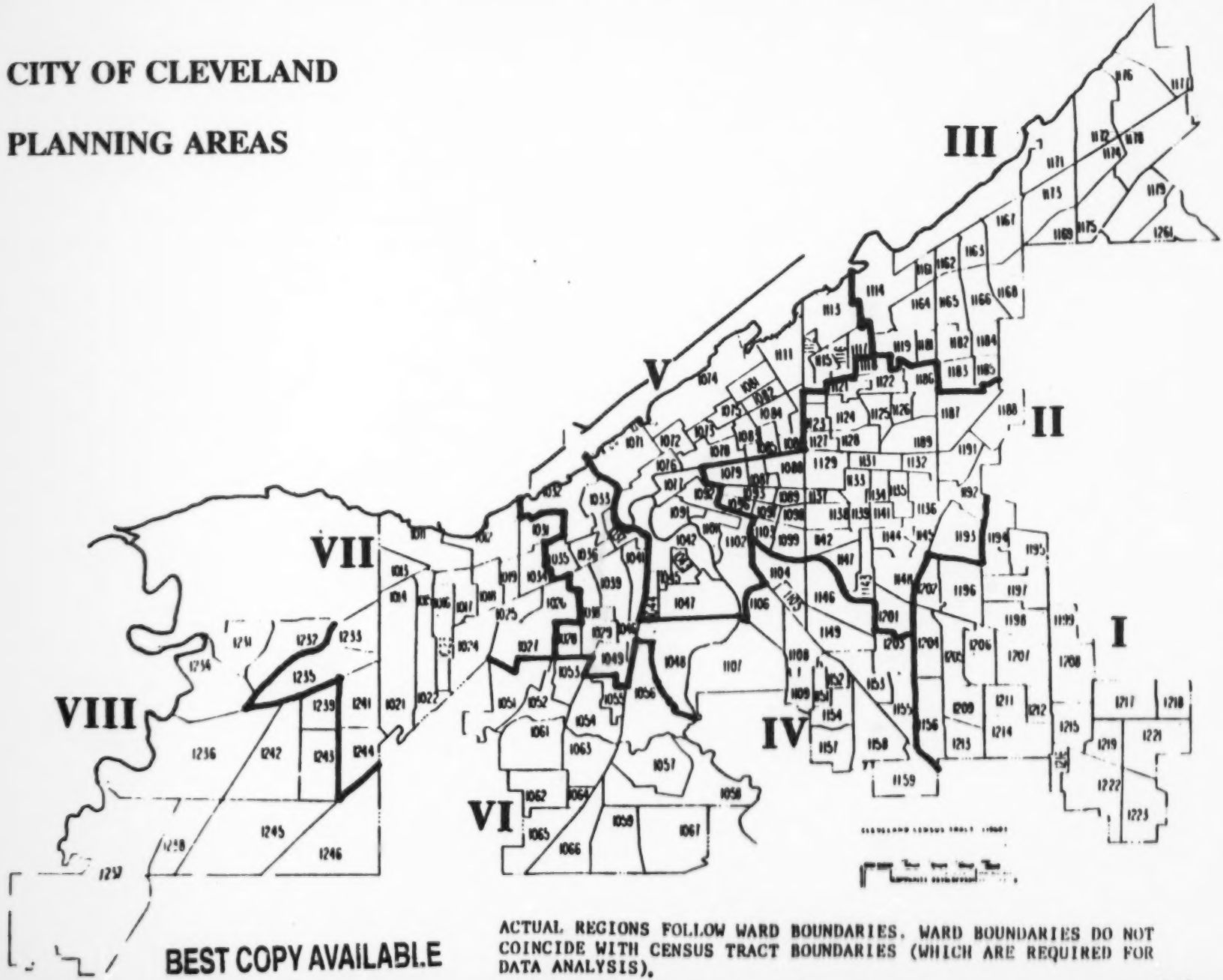
7. The source for these data is a publication by the Center for Regional Economic Issues, Case Western Reserve University entitled Cleveland Economic Analysis and Projections, 1987. The data are available only until 1984 and come from the files of Dun and Bradstreet and are compiled by the Small Business Administration. Because the data were gathered for credit evaluation rather than research purposes they are considered only approximate. They are not broken down into smaller areas because of the high potential for error. We anticipate having available an additional source of data (ES202) later in the fall that will allow for updated neighborhood information.

8. We obtained a data tape of Community Development Block Grant Expenditures from the City of Cleveland, Department of Community Development. We compiled all the categories and used 1985 population estimates for each SPA to calculate per capita expenditures. The population estimates were derived from The Urban Center, Cleveland State University, Cleveland Demographic Analysis and Projections.

APPENDIX

CITY OF CLEVELAND

PLANNING AREAS



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